

The Russian Identity and Values in the Post-Soviet Era: Learning From the Past to Reinvent the Future

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Format: Panel Presentation
AUDEM Conference Track Target:
H The Changing Contours of Nationalism and Identity in the Region

Paper presented at the
18th Annual Alliance of Universities for Democracy (AUDEM) Conference
November 7, 2007
Universitatea Babes-Bolyai
Cluj-Napoca, Romania

Abstract

This paper employed a psychological-historical framework for an analytical examination of the Russian identity during the Soviet period through the fall of the Soviet Union and the transitional period that led to an establishment of the Russian Federation. A theoretical model is provided for the analysis of Russian identity that can be generalized to any country and any historical time. The psychological lens of Erik Erikson's identity formation at the micro-level of personality development offers a framework to interpret societal change at the macro-level as well as the maintenance of core values such as patriotism, self-discipline, honesty, morality, etc. When dramatic, rapid, and wide-spread change occurred such as with the 1917 Russian Revolution or Perestroika and Glasnost in more recent historical times, it is argued that the healthiest change originates from the thoughtful integration of past values with new patterns of doing things. The temptation to discard important values of the past leaves us mindful of the proverbial warning: "Don't throw out the baby with the bathwater." This paper suggests that Russia's most expedient path to a successful and well adjusted future lies in progressing forward by embracing and testing new ideas without being ashamed or ignorant of its past. It is just such a delicate societal balancing act that holds the greatest promise for promoting realistic optimism and a healthy future for Russia. This analysis should be of interest to educators and other professionals charged with the care, development, or understanding of children and adolescents inside Russia.

Keywords: Russian, identity, Russia, social change, identification (Psychology), values

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The scholarly literature is replete with references to how the Russian identity is related to historical, economic, political, societal, and psychological development. This implies that one could speak about the Russian economic, political, or psychological identity at the current point in history or at different historical time periods. This paper will focus upon psychological aspects of identity in Russia during the past seven decades that might shed light on societal changes today.

One crucial element of psychological identity is the articulation of core values that would allow us to better understand past events, interpret current societal conditions, and anticipate behavioral events. Unfortunately, the potential for critically examining Russian life is partially thwarted by the fact that scholars come from different theoretical and research backgrounds, employ different operational definitions of the terms “identity” and “values,” and inadequately inform readers of the theoretical assumptions behind their research paradigm. We hope to rectify a good deal of these pitfalls by offering an interdisciplinary analysis that builds upon well established historical and psychological traditions, clearly outlines the key terms used for analytical purposes, and explains the theoretical basis for our investigation. Our paper will begin with an exploration of the problems of studying the Russian identity, move to an examination of the theoretical and research model employed in this paper, and conclude with Russian examples from history that can be more deeply understood by using this model.

An examination of the scholarly literature reveals that many authors have documented the importance of the constructs of identity, values, and the changing Russian scene throughout history. We offer a sample of such viewpoints in order to help the reader grasp what scholars have already noted on these topics.

When writing about the “New Russian Identity,” Igor Ivanov (2001) suggested that often discussions have been ideological in that “the matter was essentially whether to support or to reject the values of Western civilization” (p. 10). Such an over simplistic conceptualization of the issues guides the naïve reader into thinking that this is only an “accept or reject” issue. Ivanov was keenly aware of the weakness of this accept/reject ideological framework when he wrote that “Diplomacy can only be truly professional and effective, however, when it absorbs new practices into a solid ground of traditions and values tested by historical experience” (p.13).

Tim McDaniel (1996) proposed a contradictory viewpoint to Dostoyevsky and others who claimed that Russia has possessed the ability to absorb the contributions of other countries throughout its history. McDaniel claimed “the Russian idea did not develop through synthesis, incorporating reason and the experiences of other nations” (p. 54). He further outlined Russian history as possessing a “distinctive rhythm: a pattern of repeated social breakdown, with little capacity to build upon past failures” (p. 17). In the values arena, McDaniel described how Soviet Communism marked a catastrophic break with Russian cultural traditions in terms of the “old values of selflessness, modesty, and compassion” (p. 92). The crux of the issue here is consider to what degree has Russia turned its back on its past and to what degree has Russia synthesized its own past and the experience of other countries into a new way of living.

Psychological Identity Formation

Erik Erikson is well known as the most important theorist associated with identity formation as a psychosocial personality construct. It is crucial to understand that Erikson was a psychoanalytic theorist who valued the ideas of Sigmund Freud and sought to further extend Freudian concepts to better grasp additional aspects of human development. This framework helps us interpret Erikson’s theory not as a total rejection of the ideas of Freud nor a rival theory,

but instead an extension and further advancement of psychoanalytic theory. Carol Hoare (2007) supported this view by stating:

Erikson *was* a psychoanalyst. He understood psychoanalysis, its insights and methods, as work-in-progress. To him, it was not a static system but a methodology for ongoing discovery which, in every historical epoch, had to begin anew to comprehend itself, its history, and the human manifestations of the era. There is no precise formula for this, but rather a fluid discovery and rediscovery against the current times that are themselves embedded in human history. (p. 12)

The lead author's case for this Eriksonian interpretation was made when Herman (2007) suggested that "Erikson was a psychoanalyst who described identity formation in Freudian terminology as evidenced by the use of such terms as identifications, ego, and libido" (p. 9). Thus, the ability to clearly grasp Erikson's view of identity formation relies upon some elementary knowledge of psychoanalytic theory.

Erikson (1950, 1968) proposed that the human personality can be best understood by examining social relations at critical benchmarks in the human lifespan. According to this theory, the following eight developmental stages best capture the human psychosocial advancement: Trust versus Mistrust (early infancy), Autonomy versus Shame and Doubt (later infancy), Initiative versus Guilt (early childhood), Industry versus Inferiority (middle and late childhood), Identity versus Identity Confusion (adolescence), Intimacy versus Isolation (early adulthood), Generativity versus Stagnation (middle adulthood), and Integrity versus Despair (late adulthood). Although approximate ages are often listed for these stages in books, the developmental periods in the lifespan have been used here to avoid potential confusion.

It seems worthwhile to point out that each stage depicts a mental healthy and mental unhealthy possible resolution. Therefore, Erikson's view of mental illness would be captured by the establishment of psychosocial Mistrust, Shame and Doubt, Guilt, Inferiority, Identity Confusion, Isolation, Stagnation, and Despair. Erikson's vision of mental health in contrast could be best summarized by the attainment of psychosocial Trust, Autonomy, Initiative, Industry, Identity, Intimacy, Generativity, and Integrity. The tension created within a person while trying to establish either a mental healthy or unhealthy position of each stage is not necessarily cataclysmic, catastrophic, or short term. Resolution of stages might take years and it is conceivable that life events might demand that a person return to an earlier stage to re-establish personality integration. In other words, the lock-step nature of such a developmental set of stages attempts to generalize (rather than individualize) and simplify human development across the lifespan (rather than describe variation here).

Readers should immediately note that Erikson's identity formation lies in the mental healthy side of the psychosocial balance scale and that other earlier psychosocial stages form a necessary foundation for identity formation. The adage that a sturdy house rests upon a firm foundation is analogous to one necessary component for healthy psychosocial development.

Erikson's fifth stage (Identity versus Identity Confusion) during adolescence is the focus of our exploration. Santrock (2007) summarizes this stage in a paragraph by suggesting that:

At this time individuals seek to find out who they are, what they are all about, and where they are going in life. Adolescents are confronted with new roles and statuses—vocational and romantic, for example. Parents need to allow them to explore many different roles, as well as paths within a particular role.

(p. 41)

Such a broad overview, should remind us of several quintessential characteristics of identity formation. First, this is a process of self-discovery that involves interaction with other people and takes places in a societal context. Second, change, choices, crisis, commitment, and confusion are obvious hallmarks of this psychosocial period of development. Third, the exploration of possible options is implied here in terms of end products, but process is also considered essential. It is possible that there are different means to the same or at least similar desired end point—a healthy and productive life decision.

Now that we have established a broad overview of identity formation, let's return to Erikson for even deeper theoretical insights. Erikson's original words are infrequently employed by textbook authors in the field of psychology (see Herman, 2007). Others have also expressed concern related to this phenomenon. Josselson (1980) suggested "Erikson's concept of ego identity has been widely misused and misunderstood" (p. 202).

Unfortunately, a quick review of a few basic psychoanalytic concepts is necessary before we examine Erikson's own words, since it is unlikely that all readers of this paper are familiar with psychology and more specifically psychoanalytic terminology.

1) identifications (During childhood we incorporate or assimilate key elements of behaviors, values, and beliefs of others—parents, teachers, heroes, and significant others— into our own selves through conscious and unconscious processes.)

2) ego (This part of the personality—apart from the id and superego— is primarily responsible for how we relate to the real world around us. It is primarily cognitive and logical and has the power to delay gratification, and integrate other elements of the personality, but can also delude us as in the case of ego defense mechanisms that we use to protect ourselves)

3) libido (The instinctive motivational force within the personality that offers us psychic energy to satisfy biological drives and seek pleasure.)

We are now ready to carefully examine Erikson's own words. Erikson (1963) clarified the process elements by stating that ego identity "is the accrued experience of the ego's ability to integrate all identifications with the vicissitudes of the libido, with the aptitudes developed out of endowment, and with opportunities offered in social roles" (p. 261). Erikson further reminded us that "identity thus is not the sum of childhood identifications, but rather a new combination of old and new identification fragments" (p. 90).

These words extracted from Erikson's own writings offer us the following scenario. Children consciously and unconsciously adopt the beliefs of parents and significant others during childhood through the identification process. Values during this point in the life span are powerfully transmitted through the socialization process. As B.F. Skinner (1948) reminded us, "society attacks early, when the individual is helpless. It enslaves him almost before he has tasted freedom" (p. 104). Herman (1997) conceptualized a dichotomy between the transmission approach to values acquisition highlighted here by Erikson's identifications and Skinner's conditioning offered by society and the cognitive-developmental approach to values acquisition described by Erikson's healthy identity formation.

Erikson reminded us of the importance of the unconscious side of the identification process and how it offers unsuspecting children the immediate advantage of reducing stress and surviving a complex world that they cannot fully comprehend. The ability to imitate and model others allows for socialization to take place and, of course, parents are proud when their children follow the rules they set and the expectations of society.

Unfortunately, living an entire life on into adulthood with such a transmission foundation of values and beliefs results in the deep sense that: “I’m living someone else’s life, not my own life!” In essence, this state of affairs denies a person individuality, fidelity, and integrity. Some have described this condition as a state of identity foreclosure (i.e., commitment without a personal crisis) (see Marcia, 1980). Erikson argued that healthy adult psychosocial development depends upon the reinvention of self and the process leading up to the attainment of such a state typically begins around adolescence. Herman (2005) suggested that Erikson’s ego identity formation employed the developmental values paradigm whereby the “internal and external control mechanisms can peacefully coexist with cognition as the central guiding force” (p. 402).

Conscious and healthy ego strength guided by cognition allows a person to overcome the powerful influence of unconscious transmission elements of identity developed out of the introjection or inculcation of values through childhood identifications. Although the conscious analysis of the legitimacy and importance of childhood identifications is neither inevitable nor easy to achieve, healthy adult development in theory depends upon such a process. Only three basic options exist for dealing with childhood identifications around adolescence. Some could be maintained if deemed personally relevant and useful. Some could be discarded if these are no longer relevant or practical (to the extent this is possible due to the unconscious influence of such identifications). Lastly, it is possible that some could be modified so as to have at least some resemblance to the original value whereby the “best” of the past is combined with the “best” the current day has to offer.

The end result is a mental healthy person who is in certain ways like his/her parents, but in other ways unique and different from his/her parents. The healthy paradox is that a person can be like one’s parents and different at the same time. This allows for the continuation of a

historical cultural legacy and the adaptive ability to adjust to changing views. The ego strength needed to integrate some of the new progressive values and ideas along with what is still practical and useful from the past becomes a personal and private dilemma. In summary, identity formation has the potential to produce people who respect the past, but are not helplessly entrapped by outdated views. Change occurs not as a tumultuous shift in values, but in a more gradual and thoughtful manner whereby checks and balances can curb radical shifts in values for the sake of change itself.

Shifting from a Micro to Macro Theoretical Viewpoint

We now wish to ask readers to take what we have shared regarding Erik Erikson's personality theory of identity formation and apply this theoretical model to a societal level. Our basic premise is that much like an individual, it is possible for an entire society to endure an identity crisis and attempt to integrate the past into a new way of thinking about itself.

The parameters of Erikson's "identity" metaphor include the following points: 1) Society just like a healthy person must always be willing to adapt to change. 2) A healthy society, just like a mentally healthy person, must realize where it has been, is now in the present moment, and headed in the future. and 3) Learning from the past can be very difficult and painful, but not to embrace such learning means that we must repeat past mistakes and cannot successfully adapt to change in the future. Adapting to change is at the heart of psychological and societal identity.

We hope to offer the reader a theoretical tool that will allow for a deeper understanding of the societal transitions from totalitarianism to a more free and open Russian lifestyle. However, our use of the identity and values model must first begin with an examination of life under some seven decades of Soviet communism.

Soviet Contextual Examples

Readers can now understand the commentary offered in the introduction to this paper in a more powerful theoretical light. Erikson's theory can be seen when Igor Ivanov (2001) spoke of the need to absorb "new practices into a solid ground of traditions and values tested by historical experience" (p. 13). Tim McDaniel (1996) suggested the Russian idea failed to develop through synthesis and had "little capacity to build upon past failures" (p. 17). Such a societal analysis advocates the inability to integrate the past and adapt to change as key factors for breakdowns within Russian society.

Orlando Figes (1996) attributed the following quote to Lenin: "Man can be corrected. Man can be made what we want him to be." (see p. 733). This suggests that the Soviet plan to re-shape society was something akin to a grand social science experiment. Later, Figes offered us the following quote from Trotsky:

To produce a new, 'improved version' of man—that is the future task of Communism. And for that we first have to find out everything about man, his anatomy, his physiology and that part of his physiology which is called his psychology. (see p. 734)

Lenin and Trotsky were both keenly aware of the power they had to re-shape behavior, that some of the past socialization was inconsistent with their goals, and methodologies such as social control that could bring about such goals.

Catherine Merridale (2000) offers us insight into the attempt to re-formulate Soviet values when she reported that in 1949: "Fairy stories had become a threat to social cohesion. A group of folklorists—academic researchers, antiquarians, and case-hardened ethnographers—gathered in Moscow on a November afternoon and set about rewriting them" (see p. 250).

Richard De George (1969) in his book, *Soviet Ethics and Morality*, offered an in-depth look at Marxist-Leninist ethics and communistic morality in the Soviet Union. The Moral Code reproduced in Table 1 developed by the Communist Party introduces the chapter titled: Moral Inculcation and Social Control. He writes that “moral education was a job for the schools, factories, social organizations, and collectives” (p. 113). Techniques for enforcement included encouragement, approval, praise, reward and prizes, as well punishment, reproof and public censure (see p. 114).

A summary of key values from this document include honesty and truthfulness, moral purity, modesty, national and racial tolerance, patriotism, concern for the rearing of children, mutual respect for others, and unpretentiousness in social and private life. The value of hard work that contributes to the advancement of Soviet society and justice is seen in the premise that—“he who does not work, neither shall eat.” Among those elements within society that needed to be eradicated were injustice, parasitism, dishonesty, careerism, and money-grubbing.

Table 2 presents information that will help readers grasp the values associated with the Octobrists and Pioneer Soviet youth organizations. Urie Bronfenbrenner (1970) offered eight colored prints of Soviet posters of the Laws of the Pioneers (see pp. 39-46) and other documentation that allowed for the easy extraction of Soviet values. Such collective upbringing was a powerful influence upon Soviet youth as evidenced by Podolskij (1994) reporting the 1986 membership rosters of the Pioneers reached 20 million and Komsomol (Young Communist League) reached over 41 million young people.

A sampling of expectations for young people who were Octobrists (ages 7-9) and Pioneers (ages 10-15) can be seen in Table 2. Key political and social elements included the importance of the collective view, Soviet patriotism, and social humanism. The more generic

elements of youth expectations included hard work, becoming a worthy citizen, assisting others, and success in school. Character elements emphasized the importance of values such as: truthfulness, honesty, kindness, patience, honor, industry, courage, respectfulness, and perseverance. The religious realm focused upon a form of atheism where science was valued over superstition.

Urie Bronfenbrenner (1970) suggested that “probably the most important difference between Soviet and American schools is the emphasis placed in the former not only on subject matter, but equally *vospitanie*“ (upbringing or character education) (p.28). The Soviet need for loyalty to the state is clear when Bronfenbrenner observed that the “individual is taught to set the judgment of the group above his own and subordinate his interests to that of the collective” (p. 50).

The Octobrists, Pioneers, and Komosol were continuous and consistent building blocks of the moral and ethical foundation of Soviet society and, therefore, the Soviet societal identity. Soviet songs, art (such as posters), literature and published guidelines were the “authentic materials” of the Soviet culture, so these artifacts are excellent resource materials to shed light upon the values of the Soviet identity that sought to create the new Soviet person in an existing world order. Religion in the form of Russian Orthodoxy has been an important part of the Russian identity, ethnicity, culture, and nationalism for over a thousand years. As Dostoyevsky stated in *The Possessed*, “A man who was not Orthodox could not be Russian.”

Under the Soviet regime, atheism was the official doctrine. From a historical perspective, in Old Russia there was one church, one truth, and little tolerance for dissidents. In the Soviet era—at least before 1985—the Communist Party replaced the Church, and party ideology supplanted religious truth, while intolerance for dissidents greatly increased and such a stance

became State policy. The spirit of Lenin, founding father of the Soviet state, replaced the spirit of Christ and was regarded by Communists as immortal. This belief was embodied in the popular slogan: "Lenin lived, Lenin lives, and Lenin will live."

Since 1985, the severe anti-religious policies of the Stalin years have been reversed. A law on religious freedom was passed in 1990, and militant atheism was dropped from the Communist Party platform in 1991. Churches have reopened, and Russians today are showing a renewed interest in their church, responding to a rebirth of interest in Russian cultural spiritual traditions as well as concern for moral values.

At the 1989 Moscow International Book Fair, the most popular book on sale was the Russian-language edition of the Bible, which most Russians had never seen. Unpublished for many years, the Bible had only been available on the black market and then at prohibitive prices. Visitors to the Book Fair lined up daily, waiting patiently in long lines for free copies of the Bible. Some ten thousand Bibles were distributed in this manner by an American Christian publishing house.

An examination of Table 3 will provide readers with some insight into Russian values based upon well-known Russian proverbs and famous quotations regarding Russia. Our hope is that this qualitative content will give readers a glimpse into what it means to be Russian.

Herman (2000) compared and contrasted archetypal heroic ideals of youth organizations in the Soviet Union and America during the Cold War. The study examined cross-cultural values of the Octobrists and Pioneers in the U.S.S.R. and the Boy/Girl Scouts in the U.S.A. Although key political, religious, social, and psychological differences were found, the universal values of helping others, self-discipline, love of learning, development of physical skills,

patriotism, health awareness, safety, conservation of nature, and respect for authority were detected as values that were promoted through youth organizations in both countries.

Russian Contextual Examples

We now wish to move to an examination of the struggles of the relatively new Russian Federation which attempted to redefine identity. When dramatic, rapid, and wide-spread change occurs such as with the 1917 Russian Revolution and Perestroika (restructuring society) or Glasnost (openness in society) in more recent historical times, we argue that the healthiest change model embodies the integration of past values with new patterns of doing things. The temptation to discard most all values of the past in order to politically segregate factions into “good” versus “bad” or “for us” versus “against us” or “old” versus “new” may be expedient in the short term, but dangerous in the longer term of societal development. The following proverbial warning offers us valuable historical lessons: “Don’t throw out the baby with the bathwater.” Many authors have captured the dramatic changes that occurred in Post-Soviet Russia and we have chosen to select some of these to demonstrate how the theory of identity formation and values development might help us understand such societal events.

Mikhail Gorbachev (1987) in his book, *Perestroika*, defended Lenin and suggested that socialism and democracy could be combined into a viable system. He highlighted important values when he suggested that Russian folk tales are full of mockery against people who like pomp and trappings (see p. 24-25) and how it is shameful to get what you have not earned (p. 53). Such folk tales offer a valuable link to the past while promoting human authenticity and justice themes.

In his book, *The New Russians*, Hedrick Smith (1990) documents how Russians were “intoxicated by freedom” and how some he had interviewed decided that “It’s easier to live with

comfortable lies than face the bitter truth” (p. 140). One teacher he met spoke of the importance of “indoctrination in citizenship—that’s my most important task” (p. 143). He also found evidence where “teachers and students don’t think for themselves, they just accept” (p. 141). Kotkin (2001) describes a Russian teenager who after visiting the U.S.A. commented “I became a human being. I think; I have my own opinions; it’s a nightmare” (p. 69).

The intoxication of freedom mentioned here is particularly characteristic of adolescent behaviors of American college students. Senior-level students often claim that first-year students who have never lived away from strict parents are particularly wild and knew no limits to their new-found freedoms. While living in Russia on a Fulbright Fellowship in 1993, the first two authors both observed a large segment of Russian society dealing with overindulgence in the areas of sexuality, smoking (particularly under-aged smoking), drinking alcohol, and foul language. For example, Kotkin (2001) reported that 20 million Russians (1/7 of the population) suffered from alcoholism in 1991 (see p. 187). We urge caution here, since, of course, such evidence leads to stereotypes and applications that are not always true. Any attempt to examine broad-based cultural identity demands the use of such stereotypes. The following generalization might be made between these two situations: When the authoritarian transmission approach to values loses its power, authority, or legitimacy, a vacuum is created for a substantial time while the person or society struggles to establish an identity and meaningful values. Such events speak to the need for a healthy resolution of this dangerous, albeit hopeful period in the human lifespan or societal history.

Conclusions

We would like to suggest that Russia’s most expedient path to a successful and well adjusted future lies in progressing forward without being ashamed, forgetful, or ignorant of its

past. In this sense, Vladimir Putin has done a good deal to stabilize Russia from where it had fallen into disarray during the later years of Yeltsin's presidency, and has probably moved along the quest for a viable Russian identity that provides stability and hope for the future. Only history will determine this. Naturally, the greatest concern is whether Putin's alterations to the Russian government are hindering democracy and societal advancement. However, in order to provide a stable foundation for democracy as opposed to an anarchy of license, the government needs to take certain steps away from some of Yeltsin's policies before further progress can be made. Learning from mistakes is crucial here. In short, Russia needs to find its own path to democracy which will lead the country into the future while not losing the most important gains of the 1991 Revolution (such as freedom of press, speech, and elections) and its historical past. It is just such a societal balancing act that holds the greatest promise for promoting realistic optimism and a healthy future for Russia.

We wish to close with a thoughtful and insightful assessment offered to the 1990 U.S. Senate through testimony by James Billington given to the Subcommittee on European Affairs:

No one can be sure of the outcome; and it is prudent to fear for the worst in the short run. But just as Soviet totalitarianism was something profoundly different from past absolutisms, so the post-totalitarian society that is emerging...is likely to be something totally new—perhaps a synthesis of a new Russian state within a loose, broader commonwealth and/or of liberal Western economic and political institutions with conservative Russian religious and cultural values. (see Richmond, 1992, p.161)

According to the theoretical paradigm presented in this paper, Russia needs to become in part like ancestors who lived under the Czars, while at the same time different in some respects

in order to live in the 21st Century and take its rightful place on the global stage. Solving this paradox is the key to unlocking and advancing the Russian identity. The best values and traditions of the past along with the best thinking of current day Russians can be used to adapt to continual change and unpredictable future events.

Like life itself, the future sits at our doorstep, but is it the Grim Reaper or a Heavenly Angel waiting on the other side? The future is an unknown entity, but there is reason for hope. What Russia becomes in the future must include its rich value-laden past. The evolution of the Russian identity will be best understood as a constant set of transitions where people at all levels of society—from leaders to common citizens (including children and youth) accept the challenge of change and are willing to re-invent who they are and their place in this complex world. It is our hope that this paper might help the Russian people move toward such a goal.

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Table 1

The Moral Code developed by the
1961 Communist Party of the Soviet Union
(De George, 1969, p. 83)

The Party holds that *the moral code of the builder of communism* should comprise the following principles:

1. devotion to the communist cause; love of the socialist motherland and of other socialists countries;
2. conscientious labor for the good of society—he who does not work, neither shall eat;
3. concern on the part of everyone for the preservation and growth of public wealth;
4. a high sense of public duty; intolerance of actions harmful to the public interest;
5. collectivism and comradely mutual assistance: one for all and all for one;
6. humane relations and mutual respect between individuals—man is to man a friend, comrade, and brother;
7. honesty and truthfulness, moral purity, modesty, and unpretentiousness in social and private life;
8. mutual respect in the family, and concern for the upbringing of children;
9. an uncompromising attitude to injustice, parasitism, dishonesty, careerism, and money-grubbing;
10. friendship and brotherhood among all peoples of the U.S.S.R.; intolerance of national and racial hatred;
11. an uncompromising attitude to the enemies of communism, peace, and the freedom of nations;
12. fraternal solidarity with the working people of all countries, and with all peoples.

Table 2

Laws of the Pioneers

Ages 10-15

(Bronfenbrenner, 1970, pp. 39-46)

1. A pioneer honors the memory of those who have given their life in the struggle for freedom and the flowering of the Soviet Motherland.
2. A Pioneer is a friend to children of all the nations of the world.
3. A Pioneer likes to work and takes good care of public property.
4. A Pioneer is a good friend, cares for younger children, and helps grown-ups.
5. A Pioneer develops courage and does not fear difficulties.
6. A Pioneer tells the truth and treasures the honor of his unit.
7. A Pioneer loves nature; he is a protector of green plants, useful birds and animals.
8. A Pioneer is an example to all children.

Rules of the Octobrists

Ages 7-9

(Bronfenbrenner, 1970, p. 47)

1. Octobrists are future Pioneers.
2. Octobrists are diligent, study well, like school, and respect grown-ups.
3. Only those who like work are called Octobrists.
4. Octobrists are honest and truthful children.
5. Octobrists are good friends, read, draw, live happily

Soviet Values: truthfulness; honesty; kindness, atheism; science versus superstition; self-discipline; courtesy and cordiality; care, accuracy, and neatness; mastering hiking and camping skills; development of will, patience, appreciation of nature, social life, and works of art; collectivism, duty, honor, conscience; socialist humanism; good manners and standards of behavior; sanitary hygienic habits; artistic creativity; industry in study; development of physical skills; perseverance and initiative in learning; cultured speech; sense of good and bad behavior

Table 3

A Sample of Russian Proverbs and Quotations

(Richmond, 1992)

Russian Proverbs

Communalism

Together in the mir we will move even mountains.

Caution and Conservatism

The slower you go, the further you'll get.

Corruption

It's easy to steal when seven others are stealing.

The Law

If all laws perished, the people would live in truth and justice.

Art of Negotiation

Don't hurry to reply, but hurry to listen.

Friends

A person without friends is like a tree without roots.

Home versus Public

At home do as you wish, but in public as you are told.

Alcohol

More people are drowned in a glass than in the ocean.

Quotations

Religion

A man who was not Orthodox could not be Russian.

—Dostoyevsky, *The Possessed*

Time and Patience

Punctuality has been exceedingly difficult to instill into a population unused to regular hours...

--Margaret Mead, *Soviet attitudes toward Authority*

Pessimism

In our cold winter each opening of the door is a repetition of dying. Russians do not fear death because every day is a struggle. It is a pity to die, and a pity not to die.

--Mark Davydov